

THE  
CAMBRIDGE  
ANCIENT HISTORY

3737

EDITED BY

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VOLUME II

THE EGYPTIAN AND HITTITE  
EMPIRES

TO c. 1000 B.C.

Chapter 10, "Assyria" by R. Campbell Thompson, pp. 227-251

*CAMBRIDGE*  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
1931

## CHAPTER X

### ASSYRIA

#### I. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN COAST-LANDS

TRAFFIC and intercourse in the Near East are dependent on two factors—water and animals. The bank of a river, presuming that it is not rendered impassable by forests or mountains, will always provide a route for a wayfarer on foot, from its mouth to its source. But if the traveller essay to strike away from it, to cross country which is either desert or sparse of water, his risks of dying of thirst are great, until the water-holes are known to him either by his own discovery, or by hearsay from the inhabitants. It is then that the horse comes to aid the adventurer, who is thus able to make his day's journey twice or three times as long, from one water-pan to another, or escape attack by fleeing at a gallop where formerly he must rely on his own heels alone.

It was the introduction of the horse from the East which, perhaps more than any one factor, changed the face of international politics. Where in previous times man had depended on ass and camel and his own slow pace, he now was able to traverse the length and breadth of the land with horse or mule; the ass must yield in power to both, and the camel, excellent on the flat, cannot climb rocks in colder altitudes.

It was the Kassites who really introduced the horse into Babylonia, although it had already been known in the time of Hammurabi (vol. I, p. 501). It must surely have been in common use some time before the Kassites dominated Babylonia in the eighteenth century, for it entered Egypt about the time of the Hyksos conquest, *c.* 1800 (?) B.C., together with the Semitic word for 'chariot,' *markabata*, the same as the Hebrew *merkabah*. The obvious assumption is, of course, that the Hyksos brought it in with them. Even Murshil II, the Hittite (*c.* 1355–1330), in his cuneiform inscriptions used, like any Babylonian, the word *anshu.kur.ra*, 'the beast from the East,' for the horse.

With this tremendous increase in pace and power, paralleled by our use of motor-lorry and aeroplane in the East during the

latter part of our Mesopotamian campaign, the political horizon changed, and Assyria and Babylonia had to adapt themselves accordingly. Troops and merchants could travel long distances with comparative safety; the different nations were no longer able to shut themselves within their own ring-fences. The beginning of the second millennium shows an extraordinary quickening of political conversations between Asia Minor, Egypt and Mesopotamia; the el-Amarna tablets from Egypt, the scattered tablets from the Palestine mounds, the great finds of Hittite tablets at Boghaz Keui, all tell the same tale of interchange of diplomatic correspondence, with intermarriage between Royal Houses, such as would hardly have been suggested as possible in the third millennium.

It must not, however, be supposed that there had been no hardy and reckless spirits to explore neighbouring lands before the introduction of the horse. For instance, Egypt had long been in some kind of possession of the turquoise mines in the rocky fastnesses of Sinai, which had been secured for her by expeditions even as far back as the Ist Dynasty. Later on is told the exciting Egyptian story of Sinuhe, who, in the reign of Amenemhet I of the XIIth Dynasty, made his way through the Palestinian lands, luxuriant with vines, figs and olives (vol. 1, pp. 226 *sqq.*). On the Babylonian side there is little record of individual travel, although perhaps the Legend of Gilgamesh marks the admiration of the Sumerian for bold exploits in solitary wandering, which may well have some foundation in fact. There are the rather dubious legends of Sargon in the west as far as the Mediterranean, and the more satisfactory stories of Gudea ranging foreign lands in search of wood and stone; but these are the campaigns of warriors and not the wanderings of single wayfarers. Nevertheless, in spite of this lack of stories, there must have been frequent mercantile traffic between land and land with caravans strong enough to be secured against robbery, plying up the banks of the two rivers and thence diverging whither the rich and safer roads led them. Practically the only district which merchants had to avoid were the deserts west of the Euphrates which were only to be crossed with the greatest difficulty.

With the spread of the horse went one of the great inventions of the ancient world, the cuneiform character. It was adopted by practically all the nations of the Near East as a medium for the exchange of diplomatic correspondence; Egypt, Syria, Mitanni, Hanigalbat and the Hittite country all borrowed it from the Tigris valley about this time: Van adopted it at a later period;

Elam had already long absorbed it. Some of these chancelleries preferred to retain even the Semitic language of Babylonia as a *lingua franca* for their communications to foreign powers; others, more ambitious, attempted to apply the cuneiform signs with their Babylonian values to their own languages, in which they then wrote their correspondence. Egypt recognized the futility of this, as did the Kassites; the Hittites wrote in Semitic Babylonian side by side with their native language spelt out laboriously in cuneiform. To this fortunate circumstance of the almost universal adoption of cuneiform on clay by the ancient world, we owe most of our knowledge of the politics of the fifteenth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>.

To go back for a moment to the preceding century, the sixteenth, let us examine the relations between the great lands of the civilized world, Egypt, Hatti, Assyria, Babylonia and Elam. Of these the Egyptians and the Hittites were the two pre-eminent; the Kassites in Babylonia were shortly to take the third place, but these were merely cuckoos in the nest, without great inventive capacity, and markedly inferior to the first two. As for Assyria, it was as yet only a very small state barred out from the west by the powerful kingdom of Mitanni and, in a less degree, Hanigalbat, and by the Aramaean tribes of the Middle Euphrates. Elam, again, in the far south-east was now a kingdom to itself, but at first without grave menace to the flat lands below her to the west.

This was the period when Egypt, having thrown off the Hyksos yoke, was beginning to overflow into the fertile lands of Palestine. Not merely had the Shepherd Kings been driven back into Asia, but the irresistible wave which had thrust them forth surged over into Syria, where the impetuous Thutmose I carried his standards as far as the brown waters of the Euphrates. But there was another power besides Egypt in the arena, with equal

<sup>1</sup> The chronology of the earlier part of the Kassite period is difficult to settle. We are now approaching a time when we have the actual letters which passed between Egypt, Babylonia and northern Syria. Then, in addition, we have the later *résumés* afforded by the Synchronous History, not always above suspicion, and by Chronicle 'P,' on which the same comment may be made. Finally, we have the recently published important series of chronological tablets from Ashur, which give the Kassite contemporaries for Assyrian kings, but even here the scribes made serious errors. In these circumstances it is impossible to reach conclusive results and the chronological scheme which has been adopted must be accepted with these reservations. All these dates therefore must be regarded as approximate. See the Appendix.

capacity for expansion, springing forth from the oak-clad hills of Anatolia. Long before, the Hittite ruler, Murshil (Murshilish) I, probably three centuries or more before the raid of Thutmose I to the Euphrates, according to the description of his exploits on a clay tablet in his own native tongue, swept down through the Taurus passes from Boghaz Keui over the Amanus to Halpash (Aleppo) and took it. Following the bank of the Euphrates down its course, his freebooters raided Babylon. Indeed, this may be the raid mentioned in one of the Chronicles as happening in the reign of Shamash-ditana. It helps to fill out our understanding of Kassite history, and throws a light on the Egyptian campaigns of the later time, for although Egypt was subsequently able to expand as far as the Euphrates, the Hittites apparently as yet ignored her. That is to say, a Hittite expedition to Babylon troubled little about exposing its flank, its line of communications, and its retreat by the River, to attack by the Egyptians. If this really be the truth of the case, it is a clear indication of the political conditions at the beginning of the second millenium.

Assyria appears at this time to have been temporarily overshadowed by the power of its western neighbour, Mitanni, the boundaries of which reached the left bank of the Euphrates. So strong was this state in the third quarter of the fifteenth century that its king Shaushshatar was able to invade Assyria and carry off from its chief city, Ashur, a great gate of gold and silver for re-erection as a trophy in the Mitanni capital, Washshukkani. If the early kings of Assyria really were Mitannians whom the Semites had subsequently ousted, the hostility is easily explicable (see vol. I, p. 452 *sq.*).

Two solid buffers therefore prevented the kingdoms of Assyria and Babylonia at this time from taking any very active part in the Palestinian and Syrian wars in the sixteenth to fourteenth centuries. These were, first, the people of Mitanni to the north-east of Syria, and, secondly, the desert itself to the east of Palestine. The battle-area lay west of the Euphrates, where Hittite, Mitannian, Amorite and Egyptian were to fly at each other's throats over the possession of these fertile lands; Assyria and Babylonia were by comparison isolated, and, therefore, while the great powers, the Hittite and Egyptian, were exhausting themselves in these two or three centuries of perpetual fighting, Assyria was free to build a firm base for her own future empire by extending her conquests over the northern area and confining within a narrow compass the southern kingdom ruled by the Kassites until the twelfth century B.C.

With the beginning of the fifteenth century, after this expansion of Hittite and Egyptian across each other's paths, sprang up a long vendetta, with intervals of peace enforced by treaties between the two. Each sought the coast-lands of the eastern Mediterranean, and made warlike expeditions thither, and with this aim each used every endeavour to strengthen the forces at his disposal. Mitanni, which could at any moment threaten the eastern flank of an army in Syria, was courted equally by both; its royal family was bound by ties of marriage with Hatti and Egypt. Indeed, intermarriages between the courts had become very fashionable; even Egypt received into the royal harem a princess from remote Babylonia about 1400. Equally effective as a diplomatic aid were the *douceurs* of gold which those states whose mines provided it were able to send to those whose favour they courted. Many a king, like a spoilt child surfeited with presents, became surly if he felt entitled to be dissatisfied with the small amount of gold sent, and he did not hesitate to grumble. This habit of the Oriental has never been more openly displayed than in some of the letters of this period.

With the end of the sixteenth century Thutmose III (1501-1447) set out to complete the work of his illustrious ancestor. In the twenty-second year of his reign (counting from the date of his association with Hatshepsut) he invaded Palestine where the prince of Kadesh and his allies attempted vainly to withstand the Egyptian advance. The fame of this exploit reached the Assyrian king, who was not slow to turn it to his own account against his old foe Mitanni, and when the Egyptian king made a second thrust in his twenty-fourth year he was among the first to mark his friendliness to the conqueror with magnificent presents of lapis, gold and silver. His assessment of the potentialities of the Egyptian armies was justified. It was perhaps due to this diplomatic embassy from Assyria (with all the help and expectation it implied) that Thutmose crossed the Euphrates four years later and included Mitanni in his victorious advance (see pp. 73, 77).

Assyria had certainly impressed the Egyptian king favourably. According to a passage in a cuneiform letter sent by one Adad-nirari to a king of Egypt, it appears that his grandfather Taku had been appointed by Thutmose III or IV (called 'Manakhbiya') to be chief over the state of Nukhashshi. Taku, it is true, is not definitely an Assyrian name, but Adad-nirari is; so that although we cannot say that an Assyrian was appointed in the first instance, there are good grounds at all events for seeing an 'Assyrianizing'

tendency developing in the offspring, possibly from the maternal side. Within twenty years of the first expedition of Thutmose III Egyptian control extended as far as Aleppo and Carchemish, and friendly relations were opened by Egypt with the Chief of Sengara, doubtless the Sinjar Hills between the Euphrates and Tigris, now occupied by the Yezidis. By this time so high did the Egyptian reputation stand that even the Hittite kings were prepared to send gifts to the conquering Pharaoh.

Thus was the position of Assyria and Egypt at the dawn of the fifteenth century. Secure in the west, Assyria looked southwards to guard herself against the Kassites of Babylonia. It was Puzur-Ashur IV (1486-1460 B.C.) who was astute enough to come to an arrangement with Burna-Buriash I (1461-1436), making a treaty delimiting the frontiers between the two lands. From this time forth the Assyrians had little to fear from the Kassites; indeed, the Kassites, as far as we know, never really controlled this northern kingdom. •

Puzur-Ashur is not known as yet for any military exploit. He was the first after Sharru-kin to restore the temple of Ishtar in Ashur, which had fallen into decay, probably as a result of the Mitanni raid; and he was also the first to girdle the 'New Town,' or southern quarter of Ashur, with a defensive wall. His successor, and perhaps son, was Enlil-našir (1459) of whom we know nothing; and as much may be said of the son of the latter, Ashur-rabi I (1440), and grandson, Ashur-nirari III (1425-1407).

Contemporary Kassite history is almost equally vague. Burna-Buriash I was succeeded probably by Kurigalzu II (1435-1411 B.C.), whose help was solicited by the 'Canaanites' against Egypt and as promptly refused. So, at least, we are told in the *ex parte* professions of loyalty made some half-century later by Burna-Buriash II in his letter to Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton) of Egypt. The Kassite king here reminds the Pharaoh that 'his father,' Kurigalzu, had been approached by the Kinakhkhi to join them in revolting against Egypt, but had returned answer that he would have no hand in annoying 'his brother,' the king of Egypt. These are the first relations between Kassite and Egyptian of which we know; otherwise the period of Kurigalzu II is a blank.

There were good reasons for the temporary eclipse of Assyria and Babylonia, for Egypt was continuing its brilliant Palestinian campaign. Amenhotep II (1447-1420) made an expedition into Syria, which, although it can hardly be regarded as a victorious march, so far affected Mitanni that the latter sought the favour of Egypt. Thutmose IV (1420-1411), recognizing the importance

of Mitanni, sought diplomatically to link the two kingdoms by a royal marriage, asking for the hand of the daughter of its king Artatama I, and, if the Mitanni version be true, had to ask seven times before she would consent. Mitanni was no pinchbeck kingdom at this time, for Artatama had made alliance with the Hittites; that the Egyptian king thus succeeded in connecting himself by marriage with Mitanni is evidence that Egypt was still regarded as a powerful factor west of the Euphrates in the second half of the fifteenth century B.C.

It was a fact recognized both by Kara-indash, the Kassite (1410-1401), who probably succeeded Kurigalzu II, and his contemporary Ashur-bēl-nishēshu of Assyria. No matter what feelings the two kings of the Tigris valley might bear to each other, they were ready at all costs to show a bold front to an external enemy. They were so nervous about Egypt, the coquette now flirting with Mitanni, that they followed the custom of their fathers in swearing an agreement together, ostensibly about their boundaries, but doubtless not without a possible defensive war in view. At home they set their house in order; the Assyrian king re-fortified the weak spots in the ramparts of his citadel at the 'New Town' of Ashur, and his brother, Ashur-rim-nishēshu, who succeeded him, carried on the work of fortification still further.

There was no real need. Amenhotep III (1411-1375), who succeeded Thutmose IV, sent his envoys to Kara-indash towards the end of the latter's reign (so we are told by Burna-Buriash II) in all friendliness. The young Egyptian king had no desire to extend his conquests east of the Euphrates or northwards into the mountains, for, even omitting all question of the dangerous length of his Palestinian empire, neither he nor his people from warm Egypt liked the winter snows of the highlands or muddy rains of the winter season in Naharain. The Euphrates with its broad stream, often a quarter of a mile across in the reaches at Carchemish, constituted an admirable boundary. Beyond that, he hoped for friends, not foes, and by his judicious matrimonial ventures welded the Near East into some kind of diplomatic harmony. Instead of echoing with the clash of arms and warlike raids, the roads of Palestine gave passage to peaceful pageants of kings' sisters and daughters, accompanied by hundreds of their maidens, travelling in state to royal nuptials. In the end we find one of these, the sister of Kadashman-Enlil I, probably the daughter of Kara-indash himself, going down to the harem of Amenhotep III; the Kassite king had learnt how groundless were his fears for the safety of Babylonia at the hands of Egypt.



Already married to the beautiful Tiya, perhaps a Mesopotamian, Amenhotep III had allied himself with Mitanni by marrying, in his tenth year (1401), its princess Gilukhipa, the daughter of Shuttarna, and subsequently he took her own niece, Tadukhipa, the daughter of Tushratta and granddaughter of Shuttarna, who came down to Egypt dowered with all possible presents that such a princess could wish, a full inventory of which has been left by careful scribes. Again, not content with marrying the sister of Kadashman-Enlil, the uxorious Egyptian sought also to wed the daughter, in accordance with a custom certainly at that time popular. In return he sent his own daughter abroad in marriage, the king of the little state Arzawa, by name Tarkhundarash (or Tarkhundaraba), being thus honoured. Everywhere there was a reasonable peace; it was an easy period.

Friendly alike to Kassite and Assyrian king, Amenhotep sent presents to the latter, who was now building his palace in Ashur; what more opportune than twenty talents of gold for the more lavish decoration of its walls? Ashur-nadin-akhi (1396) was the favoured recipient of this gift, as Ashur-uballit tells us; he lived at peace on the Tigris, constructed his dwellings, dug his wells, and his son Eriba-Adad (1390) kept them in good order, and, when other amusements failed, made additions to the great temple E-Kharsag-kurkura, until his time came to depart from this world, when he was buried in the particular tomb (*bit sha pagri*), in the heart of the capital, of which the Broken Obelisk speaks. His successor Ashur-uballit (1386-1369) is said to have subdued Mušri and Shubari. At one time he was in close correspondence with Amenhotep IV, at least so far as the Suti bedouin, who held the routes between the two lands, would permit, and one of his letters shows that he was in a position to ask for, if not to demand, twenty talents of gold from the Egyptian king. But Burna-Buriash II, the Kassite king (1395-1371), learnt of these *pourparlers*, and a jealous fear of Assyrian pre-eminence at the Egyptian court led him to urge a strong protest. He, too, had written frequently to Amenhotep IV, now hoping that friendship would continue between Egypt and Babylonia as it was in the days of Amenhotep III, and now making a request for gold, like Ashur-uballit, because he was building a temple, probably that of Enlil at Nippur. He had cemented the friendship between the two lands by the betrothal or marriage of his son with Amenhotep's daughter, who lived in Egypt at her father's court; and on one occasion he sent her a present of a necklet of 1048 beads, counting them with due caution lest unauthorized hands should

take their toll of them on its long journey. When, therefore, he heard of Ashur-uballit's friendliness with Egypt, as we have said, he protested. The sting was in the tail of one of his letters: 'Now as for the Assyrians who are my dependents, I myself wrote to thee about them. Why have they come to thy land? If thou lovest me, they shall bring about no result; let them attain vanity only.' He left nothing to chance, however, and, an Assyrian princess, the daughter of Ashur-uballit, by name Muballitasherūa (or -erūa), was sought by him in marriage, either for himself or much more probably for his son Kara-khardash<sup>1</sup>.

She bore a son Kadashman-Kharbe, who in due time came to the Kassite throne (1369-1368 B.C.), and one of his exploits was to repress the bedouin tribes, the Suti roaming the western desert, who, as was mentioned above, had been in control of the road to Egypt from Assyria in Ashur-uballit's time, so that the latter had feared, as he says, to send back the Egyptian envoys. Kadashman-Kharbe drove them back vigorously into their deserts, and established a chain of blockhouses with wells as a barrier against their inroads. Indeed, at a later time (at some period before the ninth century) so impudent did they become that they raided Sippar and burnt its temple to the Sun. The Shammar and Aneyzeh of modern times inherit their characteristics.

But civil war suddenly broke out in Babylonia, about 1368 B.C.; and the Kassite people, incited to revolution, murdered Kadashman-Kharbe and elected either Nazibugash or Shuzigash—there are two accounts—to the Kassite throne. The Chronicle 'P' says that this rebellion was 'after' Kadashman-Kharbe's energetic action against the Suti. We cannot say whether the Assyrian queen-mother was unpopular; but there was evidently a rising feeling against Assyria (as the letter of Burna-Buriash II to Ikhnaton shows), and it is more than probable that there was an anti-Assyrian party in Nippur who fanned the natural anger of the Suti against Kadashman-Kharbe into a blaze, so that these wild tribes were ready to help oust this half-breed Kassito-Assyrian from the throne. Moreover, by now the Egyptian control of Palestine and Syria was slipping from the lax hold of Ikhnaton, who thought more of his 'Sun-disk Movement' than

<sup>1</sup> The Chronicle known as 'P' calls the latter Kara-indash, but the Synchronous History is more probably right in giving the form Kara-khardash, since one of the new cuneiform tablets from Ashur is a letter directed to Kara-khardash and a princess, and is probably the draft of a letter of Ashur-uballit to this son-in-law and daughter (*K.A.H.*, 1920, No. 97).

of statesmanship; and it may be that the Kassite people, perhaps displeased at the 'Egyptianizing' tendency of their Royal Line as a form of copying or truckling to Assyria, seized the opportunity of bringing it to an end.

Ashur-uballiṭ, still on the Assyrian throne, although by no means a young man, had no hesitation about acting vigorously on behalf of his grandson. He led or sent an expedition down against the usurper and overthrew his party, who were not strong enough to withstand the Assyrian forces. If they had expected any aid from the Suti, they should have known better than to rely on such tribesmen for persistent or difficult effort. The wheel of Fortune turned again: the usurper was killed and the Assyrian king left the government of the country in the hands of his great-grandson Kurigalzu III, who can hardly have been more than a child when the revolt took place, and must have been lucky to escape being murdered.

There is no reason to suppose that Kurigalzu was a baby when he came to the throne; *ṣikḫru*, as he was called, means in general 'young,' and may well signify a boy here. If we reckon that Ashur-uballiṭ was seventeen when his daughter Muballitat-(sh)erūa was born, and that she was sixteen when she bore Kadashman-Kharbe, who in his turn may have been only seventeen at the birth of Kurigalzu, Ashur-uballiṭ's age need not have been more than fifty when his great-grandson was born; and if Kurigalzu III was fifteen when he was on the throne, the Assyrian king need have been only sixty-five when he championed his cause. The curious point is that we cannot in fact assign a very long reign to Ashur-uballiṭ: the new Ashur synchronisms seem to show that he was a contemporary of the latter part of the reign of Burna-Buriash II, and that before Kurigalzu was dead or deposed he had been succeeded by Enlil-nirari.

We do not know if Elam had had any hand in the revolt, but the first activity of Kurigalzu III was to lead a campaign against its king Khurbatilla. So successful was he that he took the Elamite king prisoner at Dur-Dungi, and captured large booty; but unhappily contemporaneous events in remote lands made themselves felt in his kingdom, and nullified the advantage he had gained over his neighbour.

It fell out in this way. Ikhnaton was nearing the end of his reign, and his Asiatic provinces were seething with revolt. The reiterated and pathetic appeals from his loyal governors in Asia for help against the rebels fell on deaf ears and in the end the rebels threw off the Egyptian yoke (see pp. 302 *sqq.*). With this

gradual decadence of Egypt had come a corresponding Hittite rise. Shubbiluliuma, the Hittite king (c. 1411-1359), was bound by treaty with Egypt, but it was probably not from any love which he bore to her, for the Hittite and Egyptian royal houses were not yet inter-related by marriage, and we may reasonably consider that the great Syrian revolt against Egypt was a source of satisfaction to the Hittites, even if it were not actually fomented by them. When, therefore, as one of the Amarna letters seems to imply (No. LXXXVI), Mitanni, probably under Tushratta (c. 1399-1360), attempted to help the Egyptians by trying—and unsuccessfully—to relieve Simyra on the Phoenician coast, the key to the military situation, the Hittite king was naturally displeased. Whether it was *post hoc* or *propter hoc* we do not know, but Shubbiluliuma invaded Mitanni and brought the neighbouring land of Ishuwa under his control. There was an *émeute* in Mitanni, and Tushratta was murdered by his son Artatama: his elder brother had met with a similar fate (p. 301).

It was the moment for Assyria. 'The land of Mitanni was ruined; the men of Assyria and Alshe divided it.' Alshe, doubtless the Alzi of Tiglath-pileser I, must have been a neighbour of both Assyria and Mitanni. The north and west were now harmless against Assyria, and it was a favourable opportunity to deal with the southern Kassite kingdom. Enlil-nirari, the Assyrian king (1368-1346) was quick to seize it. He led an expedition against Kurigalzu III and the two armies encountered each other at Sugagi (or Zugagi) on the Tigris; the Assyrian king utterly routed Kurigalzu, and then altered the frontier line between the two countries to suit his own ideas. His success was definite; it is recorded in both Chronicles, and it is mentioned as a heroic tradition in an inscription of his grandson, Adad-nirari I: 'Enlil-nirari, the priest of Ashur, who destroyed the army of the Kassites, whose hand overcame all his enemies, who enlarged boundary and border.' There is even a fleeting reference to the war on a 'boundary stone' (*kudurru*) of the time of Kashtiliash III, found at Susa; 'during the war (*siltu*) with Shubartu Kurigalzu saw it' (*i.e.* a certain parcel of land).

Artatama II on the throne of Mitanni apparently welcomed the Assyrians. But there was obviously a hostile faction in this country ready to put on the throne Mattiuaza, the son of Tushratta. The prime movers were the Harri, and Mattiuaza was driven forth by Shuttarna, Artatama's son, lest he should seize the kingdom. Shuttarna curried favour with Assyria by restoring the doors of silver and gold which had been carried off by

Shaushshatar in his raid; he treated the Harri with such severity that they fled to the Kassites. But the Kassite king was not inclined to anger the Assyrians again, and he promptly distrained on the fugitives, seizing their property and two hundred chariots. Mitanni was by now in woeful plight; the inhabitants were starving.

It was then that the Hittite king Shubbiluliuma came to the rescue, alive to the advantage of having a friend and not an enemy as ruler over Mitanni. 'In order that the land of Mitanni, the great land, might not disappear,' the great king Shubbiluliuma sent practical relief in the form of food; he drove out the Assyrians and the men of Alshe; he put Mattiuaza on this throne and gave him his daughter in marriage. Yet what he feared came to pass presently, for the very name Mitanni died out of cuneiform records, although it may perhaps survive in the modern Metina, a name for a mountainous district a day's march north-west from Mardin<sup>1</sup>.

By this time, at the death of Ikhnaton (1358), Egypt had lost Palestine and Syria. The Hittite king who had driven the Assyrians out of Mitanni had laid secure foundations for his two sons, Arnuwandash II (1358-1356) and Murshil II (1355-1330); the powerful Amurru were their friends, and Murshil did not forget their help when he ousted a usurping dynasty from the old Amurru (Amorite) possession of Bargā, south of Aleppo. But Assyria was not affected by such a small set-back: Enlil-nirari's son Arik-dēn-ilu (1345-1306), if negative evidence counts for anything, was too strong to be attacked by his contemporaries on the Kassite throne (Burna-Buriash III [?], Kurigalzu IV [?] and Nazi-Maruttash II) and, from what his son Adad-nirari tells us, he was free for vigorous thrusts elsewhere. With the Kassites still feeling the effects of their defeat, he was able to consolidate his empire from the Persian border on the east to Commagene on the west. His first expedition against the Yashubakula (probably the Yasubigalla of Sennacherib), was completely successful, although they had put seven thousand men in the field. Then he conquered Nigimti, besieged the city Arnuni, and apparently slew the hostile commander, Esini, who had thirty-three chariots at his command. Turuki, probably near the Persian frontier, and Kutī, east of the Lesser Zab, must be included in his eastern successes; Kutmukh, and even the tribes of the Akhlamū and Sutū, always troublesome in the western deserts, mark his western exploits.

The old smouldering hostility between the Kassites and Assyria

<sup>1</sup> See Kiepert's map illustrating von Oppenheim's *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*.

broke again into flame in the time of Adad-nirari I (1305-1277), and one of the early successes of the latter king was when he defeated Nazi-Maruttash II at 'Kar-Ishtar of Akarsallu.' The old frontier was again altered, running now from the land of Pilaski on the far side of the Tigris, from Arman-akarsali to Lulumē (east of Khanikin). Not without reason did he claim to be 'the destroyer of the mighty hosts of the Kassites.'

Secure in the south, the Assyrian king was able to expand his empire in the north. He claims to have trampled down the lands of his foes 'from Lupdu and Rapiḫu to Elukhat,' giving the names of the towns he captured in detail; his domain now spread from the hills of Persia to the fertile red lands of Harran, as far as Carchemish. As yet so far and no farther: this is the old western Mitanni boundary, and beyond it he would meet the Hittites, a power which he was not yet strong enough to overthrow. During his warfare in the north he left behind him, perhaps in dedication, the bronze scimitar inscribed with his name which is said to have been found at Mardīn or Diarbekr. Yet although he might not meet the Hittites in the field, his fame had reached them, as is testified by a fragment of a letter found at Boghaz Keui, with its phrase 'your lord, Adad-nirari.' In fact, there was a very distinct line of cleavage between the Tigris valley and the Hittites; the boundary between them was the Euphrates, and we do not find *rencontres* frequent. Now was beginning the period of the XIXth Dynasty (see chap. VII), during which there were famous wars and treaties between Egypt and the Hittites, which directly concern Assyria little or not at all. Finally, after a hundred years more, the great Hittite dynasty was to fall out of the political horizon at the death of Dudkhaliash III. Murshil II (1355-1330) apparently never pushed east of the Euphrates; Carchemish, and Gashgash (the Kashkā of Tiglath-pileser I) to the north of Commagene represented his eastern boundaries. He and the Assyrian glared at each other across the River, without venturing to dispute possession; but the Assyrian empire had at last reached the Euphrates.

The Hittite throne went first to Mutallu (1329-1290), the eldest son of Murshil, and then the second son Hattushil (1289-1256?), who was fully alive to the advantage of Kassite hostility against Assyria. He was in correspondence with the successor to Nazi-Maruttash II, Kadashman-Turgu (1293-1277), with whom he made a treaty of alliance. So long as Assyria was threatened even a little in the south, she would find ample scope for her northern activities east of the Euphrates without taking responsi-

bilities farther west. No Hittite king would now consider himself justified in campaigning in Palestine with his left flank exposed to hostility from the Assyrian side of the River, and all the records show how carefully Murshil, Mutallu and Hattushil secured themselves by friendship with the kinglets of Bargā, Aleppo, Carchemish, Arvad and Kadesh, and the powerful Amurrū, even intermarrying with the latter about the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The Syrian princes thoroughly understood the virtue of combination, and were as ready to band themselves together now, just as they did later against Shalmaneser III in the ninth century.

With the death of Kadashman-Turgu (1277) Babylonia seethed with discontent. There must have been some faction hostile to the ruling king (possibly with pro-Assyrian tendencies), for Hattushil wrote to the notables of Karduniash threatening hostility if they did not accept Kadashman-Turgu's son, Kadashman-Enlil, as their king, but, on the other hand, promising active help in war (that is, of course, against Assyria) if they concurred. He also reminds the young king that even Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, Kadashman-Enlil's own minister, had repudiated any external championship on his behalf. One remark which he made reiterates the usual difficulty of communication between the two countries; this time it is the Akhlamū, the wild tribes of Babylonia, who had been the cause of delay in negotiations.

## II. THE EMERGENCE OF ASSYRIA

The accession of Shalmaneser I (1276-1257) to the throne of Assyria came at the period when the Hittite-Egyptian wars were ending and the Great Treaty between Hattushil and Ramses II was about to be made (1266). The monument of this Assyrian king, found lately at Ashur, indicates the rapid advance of Assyrian power, for it shows how his first exploit was to invade the north, including Uruadri (*i.e.* Urartu, Armenia) and the lands of Khimme, Uadkun, Bargun, Salua, Khalila, Lukha, Nilipakhri, and Zingun, which he subdued after three days' hard fighting, and made to pay tribute. Khimme and Lukha we meet again in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1103), for they sent aid to the people of 'Sugi, which is in the land of Kirkhi.'

The Hittite power was waning. Shalmaneser marched to 'the city of Arina a strongly-fortified mountain,' which had revolted 'despising the god Ashur'; and he destroyed it, sprinkling *kuṭime* ('ashes') thereon. Having, as his inscription says, brought

all Muşri, or part of Cappadocia, into subjection, the king continued his victorious campaign by invading Ḫani (*i.e.* Hani-galbat). Its king, Shattuara (whose name is reminiscent of Shaushshatar, Shuttarna and Shutatarra of Mitanni in the preceding centuries) brought to his aid the Hittites and the Akhlamū, and, by cutting off the water which the Assyrian army drank, was nearly successful. But Shalmaneser was too clever for him, for, apparently by mere weight of numbers, he defeated his foe and took fourteen thousand four hundred prisoners. After that, he invaded the highlands 'from the city Taidi to the city Irridi,' the whole of the mountains of Kashiari, as far as Elukhat, Sūdi and Harran as far as Carchemish. Clearly the Assyrians regarded the inhabitants of the mountains to the north as more easily subdued than those of the plains; doubtless intercourse was far more difficult between villages in the mountains than between those on more level ground, and the Assyrian soldiery were able to deal piecemeal with an enemy in the highlands more successfully than they could have hoped to do in the open.

On the other hand, the Kassites must have been a thorn in the side of the Assyrian king, for his expeditions, as far as we know, extended only west, north and east. He was able to subdue the Kūtī to the east, but he left the Kassites alone, and it was not until the next reign that the southern kingdom was attacked, when Hattushil was no longer able to promise his aid. Even then, although they thus became an easy mark for Assyria, the conquest was only for a few years.

Shalmaneser in his less warlike moments found time to rebuild the great temple of Ashur, E-Kharsag-kurkura. Originally founded by Ushpia, who, besides being ruler was also priest of the god, it had fallen into ruin, and Erishu restored it; again it decayed and Shamshi-Adad renewed it. Then five hundred and eighty years later, in the time of Shalmaneser, the ancient temple caught fire and was burnt to the ground, and with loving care Shalmaneser rebuilt the whole of it, in a manner befitting the dignity of Ashur.

His son Tukulti-Ninurta (1256–1233) was a worthy successor. Before dealing with the Kassites, one of his first works was to continue his father's consolidation in the north-west across the lands of Na'iri to Commagene, and subsequently to Māri, Ḫana and Rapiku. He transplanted 28,800 of the people of Hatti to the east of the Euphrates; he fought with forty-three kings of Na'iri and defeated them; and subdued 'all the broad lands of Shubarī,' including Alzi and Purukhumzi, which must be the Purukuzzi of



later texts. There exists a curious little detail in confirmation of his invasion. An inscription found at Susa shows that a certain Agabtakha fled for refuge from Hanigalbat to Kashtiliash III (1249-1242)—not, be it noted, to the Hittites, but to Babylonia—and here he continued his trade of leather-worker, so common in the districts of the Upper Euphrates where the dwarf oaks used in tanning are plentiful. Clearly Tukulti-Ninurta's campaign had made itself felt in Hanigalbat.

But most striking of all Tukulti-Ninurta's exploits was his overthrow of the Kassite power. Kadashman-Enlil II had been succeeded by Kudur-Enlil (1270-1263), of whom we know little more than that he was father of Shagarakti-Shuriash (1262-1250), who, according to Nabonidus, rebuilt a temple in Sippar. The *débaçle* came after the latter's death, when Kashtiliash III had come to the throne. The Hittites were no longer powerful to aid, nor were they concerned further with Syria. Now was the time to wipe off old scores. Tukulti-Ninurta challenged an issue. 'At the head of my warriors they (*i.e.* the gods?) marched.' He fought Kashtiliash III (1249-1242), defeated him and took him prisoner. He destroyed the ramparts of Babylon and killed many of the inhabitants; and among the booty which he carried off to Assyria was the statue of Marduk, doubtless out of E-Sagila, and a signet of the preceding king Shagarakti-Shuriash. So thorough was his conquest that he governed the country for seven years, actually appointing Assyrian governors. He retired to Assyria to build himself a new capital, Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, and boast that he was 'king of Ashur and Karduniash, of Sumer and Akkad, of Sippar and Babylon, of Dilmun and Melukhkha<sup>1</sup>.'

His rule over his new province was disastrous. The first governor appointed over the Kassites was a native Assyrian, Enlil-nadin-shum, and it is obvious that his office was no sinecure. Hardly had he taken up the reins of power when the Elamite army, ready to take advantage of any diversion, swept down on him under the king, Kidin-Khutrutash, and sacked Nippur and Dēr. This was too much for the Assyrian king, and Enlil-nadin-shum abruptly ceased to govern the Kassites—'ended his rule,' as

<sup>1</sup> An inscription found at Susa states that Untash-Gal, son of Khubanumena, king of Anzan, carried off Immiriya, the god of Kashtiliash, and put it in Siyankuk (Scheil, *Déleg. en Perse*, x, 85). If this be Kashtiliash III, we have to include an Elamite invasion of Babylonia probably coincident with the success of the Assyrian arms. Scheil, however, is inclined on epigraphical grounds to think of Kashtiliash I.

the Assyrian historian puts it. His rule lasted no more than eighteen months (1241), and it is not improbable that when he was relieved of his office he was made governor of Nippur. At least, a man of this name governed Nippur in the time of Adad-shum-iddin. A Kassite, Kadashman-Kharbe II (1240-1239), was diplomatically chosen to succeed him, and after an equally short tenure he was succeeded by Adad-shum-iddin, who ruled for six years (1238-1233). Then came an upheaval, a revolution in Assyria. If we are to believe the statement that the Assyrians governed Babylonia for only seven years this revolt must have occurred about 1233. The nobles of Akkad and Karduniash intrigued with Ashur-nadin (*or* *našir*)-apli, the son of Tukulti-Ninurta of Assyria, and raised the standard of rebellion. The old Assyrian king was trapped in his new capital, besieged and murdered by his son.

Exactly when in Adad-shum-iddin's reign the Elamites made a second raid we do not know: but Kidin-Khutrutash again attacked Babylonia, reaching Ishin. It is probable that it was in one of these expeditions that two 'knobs' (or phalli) discovered at Susa were carried off; one had been devoted to Enlil by Kurigalzu II (?), son of Burna-Buriash I (?), and the other by Shagarakti-Shuriash. An agate scaraboid dedicated to Kadi by Kurigalzu met the same fate. As Father Scheil suggests, the love of souvenir-collecting was as prevalent then as now.

Of Tukulti-Ninurta's son Ashur-nadin-apli we know nothing except that he murdered his father. After his reign Ashur-nirari III came to the throne (1213-1208), and we find the king of Karduniash, Adad-shum-našir (1232-1203), writing to Ashur-nirari ('Ashur-narara') curiously enough with one Nabu-dayani as joint kings of Assyria<sup>1</sup>. A late copy of this letter (K. 3045) is extant; it is modelled on the form of Hammurabi's letters, and, it must be admitted, is not friendly in tone, but goes so far as to speak of the mad counsels of the two Assyrian kings. We must therefore assume a rising hostility between the two countries, which came to a head when the next Assyrian king, Enlil-kudur-ušur (1207-1203), again challenged the Kassite power and fought Adad-shum-našir. Both these latter kings appear to have been killed, and Ninurta-apal-ekur, the next king (1202-1176), who was possibly not Enlil-kudur-ušur's son, but perhaps a descendant of Eriba-Adad, carried on the war, but returned to

<sup>1</sup> The text, Weidner, *M.D.V.G.* 1921, p. 14, makes Ashur-nirari a contemporary of Adad-shum-iddin (and not of Adad-shum-našir), which is shown by this letter to be obviously impossible.

Assyria, apparently so hard-pressed that he had to reinforce his army with reserves. The Synchronous History is broken at this point, but it would appear that the new king of Babylonia, Meli-Shīpak II (1202-1188), pursued him in an attempt to conquer Assyria, but was defeated and driven back into his own land. A few years' peace intervened, and then the armies of the two nations met again. Meli-Shīpak II<sup>1</sup> had been succeeded by his son Marduk-apal-iddin (1187-1175) and he by Ilbaba-shum-iddin (1174). Ashur-dān I (1175-1141) had replaced Ninurta-apal-ekur. In 1174 the Assyrian king attacked Karduniash, and captured the towns of Zaban, Irriya and Akarsallu, doubtless near the frontier, and carried off their booty to Assyria. Worse followed: the Elamites seized their opportunity, swept down from the mountains under Shutruk-Nakhkhunte and slew Ilbaba-shum-iddin, and the Elamite king with his son Kutir-nakhkhunte sacked Sippar. It was the end of Kassite dominion; one more king ascended the throne, Enlil-nadin-akhē (1173-1169), the Kassite dynasty fell, and then arose a new power in Babylonia, the 'Pashē' dynasty.

So came to an end the great Kassite dynasty which had included thirty-six kings and endured for 576 years 9 months. That they were not entirely eliminated we may possibly infer from a bombastic title, 'spoiler of the Kassites,' which Nebuchadrezzar I, the third king of the Pashē dynasty, gives himself. But in any case they must have been powerless. This long period is not marked by any salient advance either in literature, art or conquest, and there is little to show that the people had any capacity for invention or poetry. They introduced a new system of dating, and brought in the horse. Their kings were alert to the importance of securing the goodwill of the people, and, with the double intention of conferring benefits on the great land-owners, and of winning their loyalty, they bestowed large estates on those who served them. Kurigalzu III, for instance, in his brief reign gave a parcel of land to one Enlil-bani, a priest of Enlil, the patron-god of Nippur, whose worship the Kassites adopted. This grant was reaffirmed to the descendants by a successor, Kadashman-Enlil, that is, at a period subsequent to Enlil-nirari's defeat of the Kassites; and it may be that such a catastrophe intervened to annul such rights. Grants of this nature are frequent on the so-called 'boundary stones' (*kudurrus*).

<sup>1</sup> We know the name of his daughter Khunnubat-Nanā, who was probably a priestess. She is portrayed wearing a long robe from her neck to her ankles, holding a harp (Scheil, *Délég.* x, pl. 13).

Equally the Kassites accepted the religion of Babylonia, although the names of their ancient gods appear in their personal names. Almost all the deities invoked in the *kudurrus* ('boundary stones') are the familiar Mesopotamian powers, and at the same time such native deities as Shuḫamuna and Shumalia, 'the queen of the snowy heights' of the Persian border, as well as Tishpak of Dēr, occur side by side with them. Ignorant of writing, the invaders had adopted cuneiform and learnt the Babylonian tongue. The Temple at Nippur was not only a depository for temple-archives, but had also a school attached, as the numerous 'practice-tablets' discovered by the American expedition show. It was held in high veneration, the very kings themselves at this period being the chief administrators. The officials of the land are many and various. Among the most important is the *guenna*, responsible to the king, with a large staff of administrative clerks; for example, on a boundary stone (No. III, published by L. W. King) Enlil-nadinshum is *guenna* of Nippur. The *bēl-pakhāti* appears to be a provincial governor. The *shakin* is over the larger towns, such as Babylon or Ishin (Isin), or even the little known Ushti, or even a district, Namar; and the *khazannu*, the mayor of a town or village, is doubtless equivalent to the modern *agha* or even higher. The *sukkallu* was still in existence (there was a *sukkallu širu*); the once supreme *patesi* is now only a king's officer known by the title *shak sharri*.

The Kassite dress of this period is doubtless very much the same as that which we find two centuries later. Duri-ulmash, the son of a Kurigalzu, who can hardly be later than the fourteenth century, is represented on his seal as wearing a long robe. Before Kurigalzu III, judging from a *kudurru* of which the inscription had been rubbed out in his time, the long robe was the customary dress, and the flounced dress in which a goddess is portrayed is reminiscent of Sumer, and may perhaps not represent what the Kassite women wore. Men retained their beards at this time and onwards: on a poorly sculptured *kudurru* of Meli-Shipak the god, who wears a fringed and flounced robe with a high *calathus*-like headdress, is bearded and his hair is long. A hundred years later a king, probably of the IIInd Dynasty of Isin, is attired in much the same way: his beard and hair are royally combed and oiled and he wears a long, richly-decorated robe with sleeves to the elbows, girt about with cross-belt and waistbelt; on his head is the same *calathus*-like headdress decorated with feathers, and on his feet are shoes. The weapons customary at this time are the mace, the dagger, and bows and arrows.

Princesses, as is shown in the portrait of Khunnubat-Nanā, wore long robes.

We have a picture of a private citizen in Babylonia on one of the *kudurrus* of about 1000 B.C. A certain Arad-Sibitti lived in or near the village of Sha-mamitu, which also boasted a jeweller, by name Burusha; and one day the former, for reasons unknown to us, flew into a passion with Burusha's unfortunate slave-girl and killed her. The murderer was haled before the royal courts at Kar-Marduk, and his trial was a *cause célèbre*, at which many notables were present. He pleaded his cause so well that the king condemned him merely to pay Burusha sevenfold, seven slaves, which he did. The record of the trial mentions that one of these slaves was practically decrepit; but doubtless one of the blemishes in Arad-Sibitti's character shines out in his scribe's description of him here, just as others do in the unflattering portrait by the sculptor. In the fulness of time Arad-Sibitti's daughter Sag-mudammik-sharbe grew up, and Burusha's son cast eyes upon her, and—in spite of the old feud—the families were united by the marriage of these two, and then it was that all the relations marked their appreciation of the reconciliation by lavish wedding presents in land and kind. We can see how they dressed at this time: the truculent Arad-Sibitti is portrayed as rather a common-looking person, with a long nose and unkempt beard and hair (indeed the artist, doubtless unintentionally, has suggested that date-wine was not unknown to him). He wears a long robe from neck to ankles, belted at the waist; like the modern inhabitant of the Near East, he must be shown holding his weapons, a bow and arrows. On his feet are sandals. His sister, who follows him meekly, is more pleasing to the eyes; her buxom figure is draped in a long dress, and her feet, as befits a housewife in these muddy villages, appear to be encased in sabots.

The new dynasty of Babylonia, called Pashē, and accepted as the II<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty of Isin, consisted of eleven kings and lasted for 132 years 6 months. The kings appear to be all native Babylonians, and among them is the name of at least one famous man, Nebuchadrezzar I.

The first king, Marduk-shapik-zeri (c. 1169–1153), came to the throne during the reign of Ashur-dān I, who had defeated Ilbaba-shum-iddin the Kassite three or four years before. Neither he nor his successor, Ninurta-nadin-shum (1152–1147), have left us sufficient record of their doings. The Assyrian king, Ashur-dān, died, or perhaps was murdered in 1141; there is great probability that his successor, Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur (1140–

1138), was a usurper, since Ashur-rēsh-ishi and Tiglath-pileser I sternly omit him in their respective genealogical trees between Ashur-dān and the unimportant Mutakkil-Nusku. Indeed, a little additional colouring is given to this by an unintelligible broken line between Marduk-shapik-zeri and Ninurta-nadin-shum, in the new list, which evidently conceals some historical fact about Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur, who here is made contemporary with Marduk-shapik-zeri<sup>1</sup>. He was certainly a troublesome king, for we find on an ancient letter, which mentions also a Kassite Kharbi-Shipak ('a Khabirra') that he was an active enemy against one Ashur-shum-lishir, possibly a ruler in Assyria. So great were the ravages committed that Ashur-shum-lishir fled for refuge to the king of Babylonia, who treated him with honour, and later on sent him home. Indeed, it was a time of misfortune for Assyria, for Tiglath-pileser relates that about 1160 or 1170 the Mushkai (Moschi, Meshech) had overrun Alzi and Purukuzzi, which at this time were within the Assyrian dominion, as they had been since the time of Tukulti-Ninurta. See p. 274.

Ninurta-nadin-shum was succeeded by a king with a great name, Nebuchadnezzar I (1146-1123). Two serious wars were waged by Nebuchadnezzar, one against Elam and the other against Assyria, the latter doubtless arising out of the incident mentioned above. In the former he was successful; in the latter campaign he was finally defeated. He would appear also to have fought other campaigns, since he calls himself the subduer of Amurru, the lands of the Middle Euphrates, and 'the hero... who overthrew the mighty Lullubi.'

The Elamites, possibly under Shilhak-In-Shushinak, invaded the land and carried terror with them. There was no withstanding them; the Babylonian troops met them in battle near the headwaters of the Uknī river in the south or south-east, and were soundly beaten, and retired on Dur-Apil-Sin. Nebuchadnezzar, driven back still further to Babylon, could but appeal to Marduk: 'How long, O Lord of Babylon, wilt thou dwell in the land of the enemy?' Fugitives had come in for sanctuary from all sides; it was the moment for a final effort, and Nebuchadnezzar made it. In the middle of summer, in Tammuz, when the thermometer rises to 120° F., or, as the cuneiform account says, 'the axehead burnt like fire and the *tu[ka]*† of the roads scorched like flame,' Nebuchadnezzar went forth to war, and marched for more than two hundred miles from the city of Dēr, with his chariot-master

<sup>1</sup> On fragment D of Weidner (*M.D.V.G.* 1915, p. 3) he is a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar I.

Ritti-Marduk at his right hand. There were only rare watering-places on the road, and the army reached the river Eulaeus tormented by heat and thirst, where the opposing forces confronted each other. A duststorm arose, so that neither could see the other; the Elamites (who perhaps had left their cooler mountains in ignorance of the inferno which awaited them on the flat deserts below) were driven back to their mountains, and Nebuchadrezzar plundered their land.

So pleased was he with the conduct of Ritti-Marduk that he made him the recipient of special favours, and granted concessions to his native town of Bit-Karziabku. Similarly he befriended two fugitives, Shamūa and Shamaī, of a priestly family from Dīn-Sharri, and brought their god Ria into Babylon and established it in a shrine in the village of Khuṣṣi, which was near Bit-Sin-asharidu, on the bank of the Takkiru canal.

But he failed signally in his campaign against Assyria. The Assyrian king, Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur, had been succeeded by Mutakkil-Nusku (1137-1128) and then by Ashur-rēsh-ishi I (1127-1116); the new Assyrian monarch was vigorous and energetic, and to his credit we must place the suppression of the Akhlamū, those nomads on the south-west, and a conquest of Lullumē (Sir-i-pul) on the east. He was a man capable of dealing effectively with Nebuchadrezzar, and he promptly stopped the latter's inroads. Nebuchadrezzar tried conclusions in battle with him and was routed; he was driven back home with the loss of forty chariots and his army commander. It was doubtless not long after this defeat that Nebuchadrezzar died, and was succeeded by his son Enlil-nadin-apli (1122-1117).

We have now reached a period when Assyria is to dominate by sheer force the lands of the Two Rivers. Enlil-nadin-apli was succeeded in Babylonia by Marduk-nadin-akhē (1116-1101); Tiglath-pileser came to the Assyrian throne about 1115, where he remained for thirteen years<sup>1</sup>.

Everywhere among the surrounding nations was decadence. Egypt, with the later Ramessids, was nearing its fall. The Hittite empire had been engulfed at the beginning of the twelfth century by the hordes from the west, of which we have already heard an echo as far east as Alzi and Purukuzzi, on the old north-west confines of Assyria, which the Moschi had captured about 1170-1160.

Babylonia was governed by a dynasty which was rapidly to become weak, and be followed by equally ineffective groups of

<sup>1</sup> On the chronology see the Appendix.

kings 'of the sea-lands,' 'of Bazi,' and the like. It was the opportunity for a vigorous Assyrian to display his prowess, to enlarge his boundaries of his country; and Tiglath-pileser took it.

His first exploit was to regain the revolted provinces of Alzi and Purukuzzi which had for fifty years been under control of the Moschi. So impudent had these latter become that five of their kings with an army of twenty thousand set forth against Kummukh (Commagene) about 1115, and Tiglath-pileser hastened valiantly to meet this invasion of his outlying provinces. 'By the help of Ashur, my lord,' he says, 'I gathered my war-chariots and assembled my troops; I delayed not, but crossed Kashiari (the Karaja Dagh), a rugged land. With their twenty thousand men and their five kings I fought in Commagene and defeated them.' He slew many, cut off the heads of the corpses and piled them in heaps, and carried back six thousand as prisoners to Assyria.

Commagene, however, appears not to have been grateful. Hardly had Tiglath-pileser destroyed the enemy's forces when Commagene flaunted its refusal to pay the Assyrian taxes. The Assyrian king showed them that they could take no liberties; he carried fire and sword through their land, so that the inhabitants fled to Sherishe across the Tigris, making alliance with the Kurṭi. A bloody fight followed; their king Kili-Teshub, the son of Kali-Teshub, who was also called Sarupi (or Irrupi), was captured, with a large booty. So terrifying was the news that the inhabitants of the fortress of Urrakhinash in the Panari mountains, taking their gods with them, fled, and their king Shadi-Teshub, the son of Hātushar, surrendered himself. The personal names, so obviously Hittite, show that Tiglath-pileser had to deal with descendants of the Hittite kings.

Other countries in the neighbourhood were subdued: Mildish, near Mount Aruma, Shubari, and again the recalcitrant Alzi and Purukuzzi. Then the king dealt with the outlying portions of what had once been the Hittite empire, four thousand men of Kashkai (another text has the variant Abeshlaya) and Urumā in Shubartu, 'soldiers of the land of Hatti.' The Kashkai we have already seen were included in the eastern boundary of the Hittite king Murshil II (1355-1330), but their former lords were powerless to help now. Their hearts turned to water and they submitted tamely, and Tiglath-pileser went home with large booty including 120 chariots or wagons.

Yet for all his expeditions in these districts the fear of Assyria was still transient here. Commagene again proved troublesome; Tiglath-pileser once more sent a punitive expedition thither, and,



as usual, the mountaineers took to their mountain fastnesses where he could not touch them. Now it was the Kurṭi at the mountain Azu, where he conquered twenty-five cities at the foot of the mountains, which included the lands of Arzanibiu (*i.e.* Arzaniwīu = Arzanene); then the lands of Adaush, Saraush and Ammaush, near the mountain Aruma, the lands of Isua and Daria—all gave trouble. Many of them surrendered at discretion, for very fear of the great freebooter. It was hardly likely that the scattered mountain villages could resist a well-ordered expedition. They yielded with their tongues in their cheeks, ready to break out again in due time.

Leaving the northern and western districts he went south-east, crossing the Lower Zab against the lands of Maruttash and Saradaush, 'which are in the mountains of Asaniu and Aṭuma,' and conquered them. But again the north broke out, the indefatigable Kurṭi revolted; and finally he fought with twenty-three kings of the land of Na'iri and their allies. It is the north and west, always the north and west, which allow him no respite; Milidia (Malatia) in Hanigalbat, Carchemish, Mount Bishri (west of Carchemish), the very fringe of the old Hittite empire, to Muṣri (Cappadocia) with its city Arina and Ḳumanī, identified with Comana of Cataonia. Altogether, as he sums up, from the beginning of his rule to the fifth year, he subdued and included in his realm forty-two countries from the other side of the Zab to the other side of the Euphrates. He left a portrait of himself graven in the rock at the Sebenneh-Su in Na'iri. One of his greatest exploits was to campaign along the sea-coast of the Mediterranean: he took toll of the cedars of Lebanon for his buildings, exacted tribute from Gebal (Byblus), Sidon and Arvad, and in 'ships of Arvad' made a voyage of 'three land *bēru*' (about 21 miles) to Simyra, killing a *nakhīru* ('which they call a horse of the sea') on the way. In a subsequent foray in the west among his tributaries were the cities of Tadmār (Tadmor, Palmyra) and Anat (Anah). One of the rock-sculptures at Nahr el-Kelb in Phoenicia, which is now so worn that its maker is doubtful, may perhaps be his work.

As befitted a great conqueror, he was a mighty hunter, and the plains of the Khabur, the affluent of the Euphrates, yielded him trophy of elephants, while near Arazīḳi (the classical Eragiza) he slew wild bulls; perhaps he is romancing when he says that he killed a hundred and twenty lions on foot, and eight hundred from his chariot. He was also a great architect; he rebuilt the temples of Ishtar, Martu and of Bēl 'the older,' of Anu and Adad,

and he renewed the palaces. Above all did he cherish his land, for he proudly records that he repaired all the water-machines throughout the land, and accumulated stores of grain. His conquests had vastly increased the cattle, sheep, horses and asses, and he had even seen to the breeding of wild deer and ibex which he had captured; his gardens and parks were adorned with strange trees and fruits from foreign lands. It was doubtless in full appreciation of his passion for collecting strange animals that the king of Egypt sent him a crocodile (p. 194). Such a bizarre gift would surely soften the heart of a great conqueror who had the strength to press so far into the Syrian arena. In a word, he was an admirable Oriental despot of the best kind.

He crossed swords with the Babylonian king, Marduk-nadin-akhē (c. 1116–1101), towards the end of his reign. If we may infer anything from a statement of Sennacherib, it was about the year 1107 B.C. that Marduk-nadin-akhē, the king of Babylon, made a raid on Assyria, and carried off the statues of the two deities, Adad and Shala. The Synchronous History then relates that 'a second time' the armies met, this time near Arzukhina on the Lower Zab, and 'in the second year' they fought at Marrite in Upper Akkad. The Assyrian king was victorious and then pressed into Babylonia, capturing Dur-Kurigalzu, the two Sip-pars, Babylon and Opis; and then plundered the land from Akarsallu to Lubdi, Sukhi and to Rapiḫi.

With the close of the twelfth century B.C. and the end of Tiglath-pileser's reign this chapter may conveniently break off. Mesopotamian history becomes obscure, and what little has to be said will be the natural prelude to the period dealt with in the next volume.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abh.	Abhandlungen.
Abh. K.M.	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
A.J.A.	American Journal of Archaeology.
A.J. Ph.	American Journal of Philology.
A.J.S.L.	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
Anc. Eg.	Ancient Egypt.
A.S.A.E.	Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte.
Ath. Mitt.	Mitteilungen des deutschen arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
B. z. Ass.	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.
B.C.H.	Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique.
B.I.C.	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire.
Bay. S.D.	Sitzungsberichte d. bayerischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
Berl. S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
Biblica	Biblica. Commentarii editi a Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Roma.
B.S.A.	Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R.	Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I.	Bullettino dell' Istituto.
C.A.H.	Cambridge Ancient History.
C.I.G.	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L.	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
C.I.S.	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
C.J.	Classical Journal.
C.Q.	Classical Quarterly.
C.R.	Classical Review.
C.R. Ac. Inscr.	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
D.B.	Dictionary of the Bible (J. Hastings, Edinburgh, 1898).
E. Bi.	Encyclopaedia Biblica.
E. Brit.	Encyclopaedia Britannica. Ed. XI.
E.H.R.	English Historical Review.
E.R.E.	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.	Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.
F.H.G.	C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.
G.G.A.	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Geogr. Z.	Geographische Zeitschrift.
Head H.N.	Head, Historia Numorum, 2nd Ed. 1912.
Herm.	Hermes.
I.G.F.	Indogermanische Forschungen.
J.A.O.S.	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J.A.	Journal Asiatique.
J.B.S.	Journal of Biblical Studies.
J.D.A.I.	Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.
J.E.A.	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
J.H.S.	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
J. Man. E.O.S.	Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society.
J.R.A.I.	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.R.S.	Journal of Roman Studies.

J.S.O.R.	Journal of the Society of Oriental Research.
K.A.H.	Keilinschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts.
Klio.	Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Liv. A.A.	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology.
M.B.B.A.	Monatsbericht der Berliner Akademie.
M.D.O.G.	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
M.D.P.V.	Mitteilungen des deutschen Palästinavereins.
M.V.A.G.	Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
Mon. d. I.	Monumenti Antichi dell' Istituto.
N.J. Kl. Alt.	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
N.J.P.	Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.
N.S.A.	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità (Atti d. r. Accad. dei Lincei).
Num. Chr.	Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Z.	Numismatische Zeitschrift.
O.L.Z.	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
P.E.F.	Palestine Exploration Fund.
Phil.	Philologus.
P.S.B.A.	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
P.W.	Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Πρ.	Πρακτικά.
Q.S.	Quarterly Statement(s).
Rec. Trav.	Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne.
Rev. A.	Revue archéologique.
Rev. Ass.	Revue d'Assyriologie.
Rev. Bib.	Revue biblique internationale.
Rev. Eg.	Revue égyptologique.
Rev. E.G.	Revue des études grecques.
Rev. H.	Revue historique.
Rev. N.	Revue numismatique.
Rh. Mus.	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.
Riv. Fil.	Rivista di Filologia.
Riv. N.O.	Rivista nuova orientale.
Röm. Mitth.	Mitteilungen des deutschen arch. Inst., Römische Abteilung.
R.V.	Revised Version.
R.V. mg.	Revised Version margin.
S.B.	Sitzungsberichte.
Syria.	Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie.
T.S.B.A.	Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
Wien S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien.
Wien St.	Wiener Studien.
W.Z.K.M.	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
Z.A.	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
Z. Aeg.	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
Z.A.T.W.	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
Z.D.M.G.	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
Z.D.P.V.	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
Z.E.	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
Z.G. f. E.	Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde.
Z.N.	Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

## CHAPTER X

ASSYRIA<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See also the list, vol. I, p. 652.

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